ness, and force of expression, as well as an eloquence of feeling and felicity of illustration, which will cause it to make a deep impression upon the

public dinners to which I have been inivted, chiefly because gage in civil war for a mere trifle. There is no honor in such connected with slavery. I have refused to attend several public dinners to which I have been inivited, currently a course, and, where the remarks necessarily elicited on such occasions might be no sense in it either.

It seems, however, there is some magic in the addition It seems, however, where it is some magic in the addition in the addit willingly postpone any personal defence, and leave it to time to justify my course. But I have been connected with the settlement of questions of immense magnitude, and it is important that they should not be misunderstood or further misrepresented. Of almost equal importance is the necessity of will be as potent in the one case as in the other. But, seriously, represented. Of almost equal importance is the necessity of controverting certain dangerous dootrines which have recently I gree with them that 36 deg. 30 min. would have been an extreme concession. It involved the necessity of voting for a measure admitted to be a plain violation of the constitution.

"Whoever has observed the tone of the press and the proceedings of public meetings in South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas, cannot fail to see that the feeling of dissatisfaction is deep and wide-spread, pervading all classes of the community, and so strong as to break down long-standing party barriers. The ablest men of the South, of both political parties, are leaders in this movement. They are anything else but factionists. They do not regard secession as merely inevitable, or as a calamity to be avoided, but as an object most desirable—not the least of two evils, but, under the circumstances, a positive blessing."

I think we have done better. The boundary of Texas is the subject about which there has been the widest difference of opinion; and, at the risk of being tedious, I shall endeavor to make that question so plain that there can be no misunderstanding it hereafter. I have here a map, prepared at the General Land Office since the passage of the act, upon which I propose to show you what Texas claimed, what New Mexico claimed, and what each received by the Senate hill. [Mr. CLEMENS here traced upon the map the original boundaries of Texas, Coahuila, New Mexico, and Chihuahua.]

Now, let us see upon what the claim of New Mexico and New Mexico and New Mexico and New Mexico.

Mark the language! Secession is not to be resorted to as a remedy for oppression—not as a painful evil, rendered in-evitable by yranny and injustice—but as something good in evitable by tyranny and injustice—but as something good in itself—as a positive blessing. When doctrines like these are openly promulgated, it becomes those who entertain different opinions to place them in some form before the putlic. I have therefore called you, my old neighbors and friends, together, to speak to you of peace, of harmony, of the prosperity and glory of our common country. When violent speeches might do good, I was ready enough to make them. When harsh language could by possibility effect any thing for the South, I did not hesitate to employ it. But a different state of things now exists. After a long and bitter contest, a settlement has been made. Good men every where are sighing for repose; and the question for us to determine is, whether there is any thing in the circumstances that surround us to forbid a return to the usual quiet avocations of life.

I need not refer to any complaint made by any section of

the Union prior to the meeting of the present Congress. With all that you are perfectly familiar. But, in order to arrive at just conclusions, it will be necessary to review the

the Confederacy. That Congress should have overlooked these and the many other objections to her admission was not only unfortunate, but criminal. The most violent secessionist cannot go further than I in denouncing an act so palpably unjust. We may differ as to the remedy, but not at all as to the wrong. It must, however, be borne in mind that the Northern States are not alone responsible; that in fact their share is even less than our own. A Southern President, surthe Confederacy. That Congress should have overlooked Northern States are not alone responsible; that in fact their share is even less than our own. A Southern President, surrounded by a Cabinet composed of a majority of Santhern men, first devised the scheme of California admission. Southern men in both branches of Congress and of both parties voted with the North. But for Southern men, Cali | these au fornia would now be a Territory, not a State; and if her admission is to be regarded as a case of Northern aggression, it is an aggression that we ourselves invited and assisted. I have nothing to say of the motives of the late President, or the motives of those who separated themselves from the main body of the Southern representatives. I speak of the facts is an aggression that we ourselves invited and assisted. I

know of no subject which presents a better field for ridicule.

The next subject of complaint is that Congress has abolished
the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and here I side

with the complainants. I do not care one cent whether slaves are sold in the District or not; but I think it is a subject with which Congress had no business to meddle. I regard it as the establishment of a precedent which may be dangerous, and will certainly be made the excuse for further agitation. If Congress can abolish the slave trade, I know no reason why they cannot abolish slavery itself in the District. The question of power depends upon the same clause of the con-stitution, and may be as rightfully exercised in one case as in the other. For this act, then, I hold there is no excuse. I believe it to be a serious aggression, one which every patriot ought to regard with distrust and every strict constructionist strongly condemn. I do not, however, believe it to be one of those cases which will justify resistance by secession and civil war. The Supreme Court is the proper tribunal to determine

the question, and to that Court I am willing to leave it. I have goin now as far as I can go with those who are so carnestly eng god in the work of agitation. Their next ground of complaint is one upon which I differ with them toto ccclo. They allege that a portion of Texas has been purchased and given up to free-soil—that a stare State has been dismember-ed to gravify Northern fanaticism—and the South is urged to resist by violence an act which had the sanction of a decided majority of Southern men. I desire to know who constituted these agitators exclusive guardians of the rights and honor of the South. They are a minority—a minority in Congress, a minority of States, a minority of individuals in the States. By what right do they assume to decide that the majority are faithless to Southern interests, or incompetent to perceive in what Southern interests consists? What evidence have they given of superior partiotism or superior sagacity? I doubt whether one in ten of them has ever taken the trouble to ex-

Senator Clemens's Speech.—Good wine needs no praise, and this speech requires no eulogy. Founded upon a triple basis of truth, justice, and patriotism, it can well survive the assaults which may be made upon it. It is destined to give its author more character than any of his former productions. There is a clearness, a pointed discovery of the principle here.

Senator Clemens's Speech.—Good wine needs because, as almost to excite the pity of their opponents. They repudiate the Texas boundary bill and condemn its supporters, because, as they allege, it does not give us all our rights. In the very next breath they will tell you they are for the line of 36 deg, 30 min. Ask them if 36 deg 30 min. gives us all our rights? Oh, no. Has Congress the constitutional power to prohibit slavery north of that line? Certainly not; but we was a miserable failure. The argument. But the attempt was a miserable failure.

What becomes of the principle here? The principle here and principle here? The principle here? The principle here? The principle here and principle here? The principle here? The principle here and principle here? The principle her applying it to the ordinary transactions of private life. Neither is this all: those who urge it are guilty of an inconsistency so will take it as an extreme concession. What becomes of the principle here? They give up absolutely millions of acres to which their title is just as clear as to any portion of the public domain, and then talk of going to war on principle for a nar-row strip of ten miles on the Rio Grande. Beautiful consistency! Wise and sagacious instructors of the people! There is no principle involved in surrendering four-fifths of the territory acd from Mexico, and consenting to an unconstitution Speech of Senator Clemens, in Huntsville, Alabama, on Monday, November 4, 1850.

Fellow-Citizens: Notwithstanding the attacks which have been made upon me, I have, since my return from Congress, sought to avoid all controversy upon questions connected with slavery. I have refused to attend several

Now, let us see upon what the claim of New Mexico and Texas was based. Not long since I had occasion to address a letter to the editors of the "Democrat." I can save time by reading an extract from that letter :

The boundaries of New Mexico, although never defin

its declaration of independence from Mexico in 1836, resolved, as a matter of expediency, to extend the southwestern boundary of Texas from the mouth of the Riu Grande along the river to its source, and up to the 42d degree of north latitude.

acts which have since passed, and which are now the causes of wide and deep agitation. I propose to show you what you have lost and what you have gained. Your own good sense will then teach you what your interest and your duty require.

You have lost the whole of California, with its vast mineral wealth, and still more valuable command of the Pacific trade. There was no precedent to justify her admission as a State—no pretence of equity to redeem the outrage. The number of her population was unknown, and the character of it, according to the Governor's message, ought to have been a bar to any application of hers to become a member of the Confederacy. That Congress should have overlooked the case of things the full benefit of all that may be derived from this resolution, I think it right to state, in addition, that Santa Anna, by a treaty executed while he was a prisoner, recognised her claim to the territory within the limit described. "Chihuahua forms the principal boundary of New Mexico to the south. 'This State claims as its northern boundary towards New Mexico 32 deg. 30 min. latitude north—this line to be protracted towards the east to the Rio Pecos, or Puer-o.' Humboldt places the northern boundary at the same degree of latitude. An essay published in Chihuahua in 1842 contains the following passage:

"The Pecos river forms the dividing line between the other confideracy. That Congress should have overlooked there are also and the character of the confederacy. That Congress should have overlooked the claim to the territory within the limits described. "Chihuahua forms the principal boundary of New Mexico to the south. 'This State claims as its northern boundary at the same degree of latitude. An essay published in Chihuahua in 1842 contains the following passage:

"The Pecos river forms the dividing line between the office." I quote sgain from Wislizenus:

"I quote sgain from Wislizenus: "To give Texas the full benefit of all that may be derived

west of Greenwich."

"It will thus be seen that New Mexico has always claimed the whole territory ceded to her by the Senate bill; and that the most scientific travellers, men wholly disinterested, have united in denying the claim of Texas. But I do not quote these authorities as conclusive: for I do not so regard them.

only, and they show that the South must take her full share of the responsibility for whatever has occurred. It is no answer to say that those whe differed with the majority are

neighbor, Tennessee. A large majority of her representatives voted for admission. Then we must secede from Kentucky, Missouri, Delaware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas. All these States furnished votes for admission.

Cervantes, it is said, laughed chivalry out of Europe by exposing its absurdities in the story of Don Quixote. It would be well for some pen like his to draw a picture of the state of things which certain would-be leaders are now trying to bring about. We must go to war with the Union because Congress has not established the boundaries of Texas precisely as Texas wished, and at the same time we must go to war with Texas because she has aided to bring California into our particular of States. If such great interests were not at stake, I know of no subject which presents a better field for ridicule. The next subject of complaint is that Congress has sholished the slave trade in the District of Columbia; and here I side of value which New Mexico obtains is the valley of the Rio Grande, or rather ten miles of it, on the eastern side. The valley is inhabited by about 500 Americans, a few Spaniards and Mexicans, and the remainder more than one-half) Pueblo Indians, who profess Christianity—a population which would have added to Texas neither wealth nor strength. So that, if her title was in all respects clear and certain, she might well afford to surrender it for the sum she is to receive. But it has been urged that we could not honorably surrender a foot of ground clasmed by Texas because it is a matter of principle. How can it be a matter of principle. of ground claimed by Texas because it is a matter of principle. How can it be a matter of principle when the title is a doubtful—when both parties claim title with equal confidence? Such controversies are always settled between individuals by the suit or arbitration—between nations by treaty or war. The boundaries of Maine and Oregon were settled by treaty between the United States and Great Britain; the boundary controversy between Ohio and Michigan was settled by Congress; and that between Iowa and Missouri by suit in the Supreme Court. In all these cases some of the parties gave up what they believed to be a portion of their right; but who ever heard that the least dishonor attached to them for so doing? Boundaries have been the subject of negotiation, of treaty, of bargain and sale, ever since the world began. Our lown State was bought from Georgia. The United States might have refused to buy Alabama and Mississippi; and then, instead of six Southern Senators, we should have but two for the whole region between the Savannah and the Mississippi.

"There is another view of the subject which must not be

a or superior sagacity. I doubt has ever taken the trouble to expected in disposeessed the wild Indians, the title of Texas was no better, for she never attempted to disposeess them. This for the consure than to study and company of the title of the normal disposeess them. This is one side. On the other we have the Texas law of limits,

ch further, and demonstrate its absurdity more clearly by advocate if, while seeking to get all I could for the So

Extracts have also been parsded from a speech of mine in reply to Mr. Foote to prove that I have been inconsistent. Even if this was accomplished, it would not affect the argument. But the attempt was a miserable failure. Mr. Foote had asserted, as I understood him, that the title of Texas was indisputable; and that to cut off a portion of it, as proposed by a bill of Mr. Benton, would be to give it up to free soil. My speech was based upon the hypothesis that he was correct. It was not so much the assertion of my own opinious as a commentary on his, as expressed on two different occasions. Whenever it becomes a matter of sufficient importance, I hold myself prepared to defend the consistency of my course against all assailants, although I am far from regarding consistency as the highest virtue of a public man. The motto upon the banner of John Hampden, "vestigia nulla retroraum," recently quoted by Mr. Webster, is rather too arrogant for an

cently quoted by Mr. Webster, is rather too arrogant for an ordinary mortal whose judgment is always liable to error.

I have now disposed of all those questions which have been seized upon as a means of creating disquiet in the public mind. There is another side of the picture which the lovers of strife are not fond of exhibiting. There were healing measures areful to maintain a rigid silence.

We have obtained a Territorial Government for Utah-

without the proviso, but under circumstances which give the strongest grounds for hope that her State Government, when formed, will be after the model most agreeable to us. formed a constitution, some ten months since, they left the question of slavery precisely as it stands in Georgia and most of the other Southern States. The judiciary act for the Territory recognises the existence of slavery by necessary implication. Let me read you an extract from the address of the Hon. T.

H. Bayly, of Virginia, to his constituents:

"The Territorial bills and the fugitive slave bill each recognises the legality of alavery in the Territories. In the former it is enacted that "writs of error and appeals from the final decisions of said Supreme Court shall be allowed, and may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, in the same manner and under the same regulations as from the circuit courts of the United States, where the value of the property or the amount in controversy, to be ascertained by the oath or affirmation of either party, or other competent witness, shall exceed one thousand dollars, except only that in all cases involving title to slaves the said writs of error or appeals shall be allowed and decided by the said Supreme Court without regard to the value of the matter, property, or title in controversy; and except, also, that a writ of error or appeal shall also be allowed to the Supreme Court of the United States from the decision of the said Supreme Court created by this act, or of any judge thereof, upon any writ of habeas corpus involving the question of personal freedom."

"It will be perceived that there are two classes of cases here provided for—the last between the negro and his master, involving the question of his personal freedom; the first between other parties, involving title to slaves. This last clearly contemplates the existence of slavery in the Territories.

"Besides this, the act providing for the recapture of fuzi-

"Besides this, the act providing for the recapture of fugi-tive slaves throughout contemplates the escape of slaves from our Territories. It ensots "that when any person held to serwee or labor in any State or Territory, or even in the District of Columbia, shall escape," &c. Slavery is prohibited in Minnessta and Oregon; and if it is also prohibited in Utah and New Mexico, our only other Territories, then there is no subject to which a part of that law can refer."

A large part of New Mexico also lies north of 36 deg. 30 min. In that bill Mr. Toombs's amendment was incorpera-ted, which enacts that every citizen shall be protected in his life, liberty, and property—of course including slaves.
know it is said that slavery can never go into New Mexico but I have not been able to see the force of the reasoning by which the assertion is sustained. One fact is worth a thousand theories. When the New Mexicans adopted a constitution they recognised slavery in females to the age of eighteen, in males to the age of twenty-one, and peonage after, which is the most effectual kind of slavery. I therefore constitution that the state of t clude that the strong probability is they will establish slavery for themselves. But suppose they do not, who is to blane? We have got all we asked in the bill, and if God and nature exclude slavery from the country, there is nothing of which

we can rightfully complain

The fugitive slave bill is another law passed at the instance of the South. You are constantly told that it will not be excuted, and may be repealed. That a few crazy fanstics and runaway negroes will oppose the execution of the law is certain, and that they may sometimes succeed in evading its pro-visions is probable; but as a general rule it has been enforced, and I doubt not will continue to be so. Of the Northern men who voted for it, eight have up to this time been candidates for re-election, and seven of the eight have been sustained—a clear indication of the determination of sober and reflecting men to discharge all the obligations imposed upon them by the

stand undisturbed : if no serious attempt is made to repeat

them; if they are executed, as I believe they will be, in good faith, I feel bound to say that you ought to be satisfied with the settlement which has been made. We did not get all we claimed, but we got more than was ever yielded by a majority to a minority before. With the absolute power to settle every question upon their own terms, they abandoned their favorite praviso, and guarantied to the people of the Territories the right to regulate the question of slavery for themselves. They have manifested a sense of justice and an amount of fraternal regard of which I did not believe them capable. For their future action I have no fears. Spasmodic attempts will be made to keep up agitation at the North as well as at the South. Restless men—men of blind prejudices and headstrong pas-sions—will assuredly say and do things calculated to disturb the harmony of the republic. It may even be that in some swer to say that those whe differed with the majority are traitors to the South. If they are traitors, we produced them; the sin is ours, and no see else can be held responsible for it. But how do we know they are traitors? Their constituents have not yet repudiated them; and as they are the sole judges of what constitutes treachery to them, we have no right to assume its existence until they have proclaimed it.

Admitting the admission of California to be a great wrong, as I certainly think it was, the next inquiry is, what is the pecause if we do we shall have to begin with our nearest feed would be parted with, and accordingly Gen. Taylor was ordered to encamp upon its banks; but the Upper Rio Grande wotes for admission. Then we must secode from Kentucky, Missouri, Delsware, Maryland, North Carolina, and Texas.

All these States furplished wates for admission.

The next inquiry is a suit of disturbed wates for admission.

The next inquiry is a suit cause of war. Her title to that territory has been confirmed; her boundary extends nine handerd miles along the river, from its mouth to the 32d degree of north I hope Alabama may not be found among the number. We latitude. But on the Union A that on the Union have possession of a flairise existence until they have presented it.

The Mexican authorities were in the peaceful experience of their functions, and the Mexican laws, usages, and cut on in full operation. The resolutions of annexation experience of their functions, and the Mexican laws, usages, and cut on the peaceful experience of their functions, and the Mexican laws, usages, and cut of the republic. It may even be that in some has been dead proved to a first from the Union of the Union and that for the same and the training cancel them; has been experienced in the peaceful experience of their functions, and the Mexican laws, usages, and cut of the republic. It may even be that in some hand to tailing the river, from its mouth to the 32d degree of north laws, usages, and containing the peaceful experienc brethren, and were looking forward to a violent termination of the pending controversy. I gazed upon the spot where the remains of that great and good man repose, and asked to whom will he belong when we are divided? It was not for the South alone he fought; not for the South alone he spurned a kingly diadem. The South, indeed, gave him to the nation, but he gave to the whole land liberty and independence, and all alike are the heirs of his glory. The pilgrim from Bunker Hill, as well as he from Camden, has a right to visit that sacred spot, and kneel and worship there. His awful shade would rise to rebuke the section that dared appropriate him to itself. We cannot divide him, nor can we divide the trophies gathered on the bloody fields of the revolution. Many a soiled gathered on the bloody fields of the revolution. Many a soiled banner, which once waved above a haughty foe, is now to be seen at the capital of the republic, and the American who can look upon them and not feel his heart beat quicker and his step grow prouder and firmer, is unworthy of the name. All these were jointly won, and belong to us in common. In our own times we have created for our children a bond of amity which I fervently pray may endure forever. On more than one glorious field New England and South Carolina together faced the cannon's mouth and mingled their blood in a common pool. From the mouth of the Rio Grande to Buena Visa every hamlet is vocal with the story of American prower From Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, all along the the dauntless Spaniard trod—upon the very fields of his fame—American valor and American science have eclipsed even the wild romance of "The Conquest," and Hernando Cortez has yielded the laurel crown to Winfield Scott. It was not by the North or the South that this bright page of our story was

the North or the South that this bright page of our story was written. Side by side they braved the pestilence; side by side they won victory after victory, and annihilated in one campaign the military power of a mighty nation.

No one ever thought of asking there whether the eyes of his comrade had first opened to the light of day in Maine or Louisiana. No one inquired from what section came the hand that stanched his bleeding wounds or held the cup to his fevered lips. It was a brother's hand, no matter whence it came, and asked no recompense but a brother's love. If there was nothing else to bind this Union together, these are ties that no wise and good man would willingly sever.

Between secession and acquiescence in the measures passed Between secession and acquiescence in the measures pa

by Congress there is no medium ground. If you are dissa-tisfied, there is no remedy but secession—no redress but civil war. I know that there are those who speak of resistance Inst sight of. The Senate bill does not settle the boundary of Texas: it simply makes a proposition to her for settlement; and believing, as I do, that she is fully competent to guard her own honor and her own interests, I voted for it."

According to these authorities, we have given to Texas:

36,445 square miles more than was justly hers; for, even if the was no ground of complaint. The mission of the square miles more than was justly hers; for even if there was no ground of complaint. The mission was bad in consequence of never that these who say the most about it are the last to the square miles more than was justly hers; for even if there was no ground of complaint. The mission was bad in consequence of never that there are those who speak of resistance within the constitution—of non-intercourse—of trading in your own cities—of encouraging your own mechanics. But that is not resistance; it is acquiescence—it is what you ought to do, even if there was no ground of complaint. The mission what they preach. If that is all the resistance they

our hands; but they have not yet come upon us, and it is only the part of folly to anticipate them.

It does good occasionally to recur to the past, to trace out successive events in by-gone times, and learn from thence how disaster has been avoided and prosperity attained. There is much in our history that cannot too often be recalled to the memory of the citizen. It is full of instruction, and, if read aright, will serve to guide as through every peril of the future. But a brief period has elapsed in the age of nations since Jamestown and Plymouth Rock witnessed the landing of a strange race upon the North American continent. Trials and persecutions in the Old World sent them forth from the bosom of the society in which they had been reared, and that fold in whose sacred cause they suffered came with them. They found a land fertile, indeed, beyond all they had ever known of fertility, but in which hardship and danger were thought of the sight; the anvil and the hammer had never resounded along these gloomy shores; the ploughshare the asperities of life, or give to labor a charm—all were wenting. Wholly unconscious of founding an empire, they thought only of any asylum where God's worship and danger wenting. Wholly unconscious of founding an empire, they thought only of any asylum where God's worship should be desired. It is attained to do wrong. They may, under the influence of the many existement or misguided opinions, commit mately intend to do wrong. They may, under the influence of themporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mately intend to do wrong. They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mately intend to do wrong. They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mately intend to do wrong. They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, commit mately intend to do wrong. They may, under the influence of temporary excitement or misguided opinions, ommit intend to do wrong. They may under the

ing. Wholly unconscious of founding an empire, they thought only of an asylum where God's worship should be unrestrained and God's creatures unfettered. Before their persevering industry the forests melted away; cultivated fields grew and flourished where late the panther made his lair; flocks and herds strayed unmolested where the wild Indian had held his orgies and doomed his prisoners to the stake; all the arts of civilized life took root and flourished anew; edu-

cation spread its blessings through the land :

"And Genius came, and all the tuneful race
Struck their glad lyres and owned their resting-place." The struggle with England which soon followed taught the colonies the necessity of union; and accordingly a feeble and imperfect confederation was effected, which served to hold them together while the presence of a foreign enemy menaced life and liberty. But the moment this external pressure was removed, its weakness and imbecility became pressure was removed, its weakness and imberility became painfully apparent. None of the States complied faithfully with their obligations to pay off the revolutionary debt, and New Jersey expressly refused. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland passed navigation laws, treating the citizens of other States as allens; Connecticut taxed imports from other States. Geografic activation of the States. ports from other States; Georgia carried on wars and made ports from other States; Georgia carried on wars and made treaties with the Indians; Massachusetts raised and kept up armies without the consent of Congress; in many of the States depreciated paper was made a tender in payment of debts; instalment laws were passed, and the courts of justice closed. John Adams in his inaugural message thus describes the state of things which existed under the Confederation:

"Negligence of its regulations, inattention to its recom-mendations, if not disobedience to its authority, not only in individuals, but in States, soon appeared, with their melan-choly consequences—universal languor; jealousies and rival-ries of States; decline of navigation and commerce; dis-couragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the couragement of necessary manufactures; universal fall in the value of lands and their produce; contempt of public and private faith; loss of consideration and credit with foreign nations; and at length in discontents, animosities, combinations partial conventions

With this experience of the confusion and anarchy which existed prior to the adoption of our present constitution, we should be careful how we risk a recurrence to similar scenes. We should remember that at this day all the evils enumerated would be aggravated a hundred-fold, and that we could only nope for peace when faction had been crushed by the hand of military despot.

There is another portion of the history of that period which

just not be overlooked. This is not the first time that dis-Then as now there were men busily engaged in scattering poison through the land, in fanning the fires of sectional jea lousy, and advocating the erection of two or more Confedera-cies, "either (says, Mr. Madison) from a better chance of figuring on a sectional theatre, or because the sections would require stronger Governments, or by their hestile conflicts lead here solicits aid, depend upon it he will find enough citizen to a monarchical consolidation." The good sense of the nation triumphed, and our presen

constitution was the result. Under that constitution we have been moving on with giant strides in the march to empire. From thirteen feeble, distracted, and divided colonies a nation has arisen which all Europe in arms could not overrun. Our commerce has penetrated into every clime, and every sea is work, and some artists hope to find a place for their pro-whitened with its sails. In all the achievements of war and all the arts of peace the North American Republic stands preall the arts of peace the North American Republic stands preeminent, without an equal and without a rival. The citizen
enjoys an amount of individual liberty unknown to any other
land. The honors and emoluments of every office are open
to the competition of all, and the man who guides the ploughshare to-day may be President to-morrow. I am not so
weary of this happy state as to desire the destruction of the
constitution which has secured it. That the Government

The arts are not in a flurishing condition here inst now. will sometimes work unequally, no one pretends to dispute.

That there are and must be occasional grievances under it, is not to be denied. No human institution is perfect; but the rapid advancement of our own State to wealth and power is trumphant proof that we have not been called upon to endure any serious evil. Forty years ago Alabama was an all the state of the productions. The arts are not in a flourishing condition here just now.

Harding, Willard, and a few others have orders for portraits, but landscape and historical painters find slow sale for their productions. Hing, the sculptor, is executing some life-like busts. most unbroken wilderness; now it contains a population of at least seventy-five thousand voters, and its exports exceed those of the whole thirteen original States at the date of our inde pendence. At this very moment you enjoy an amount of prosperity never surpassed, and any change must be for the the ballet is applicated, and thousands flock to see the fairy worse. Then listen not to those who would urge you to en- spectacle of "Cinderella." gage in the mad work of agitation: like the serpent in the garden of Eden, they have Sin and Death for their followers,

and have come to destroy the bloom of Paradise.

I hope it is no impiety to say that the foundations of this Republic were laid by God himself. Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and a thousand other sages and patriots of the revolution, built up the glorious fabric. It has stood the test of time and trial. The winds have come, and the rain has beat upon it, but not a stone is shaken, not a rafter displaced. Beneath its shelter every civil right—every privilege of religion—has been protected and secured. For what, then, are we now asked to tear down with our own hands an edifice which the tempest is powerless to harm? What deadly malaria has penetrated its walls? What evil spirit has taken up his abode among the good genii of the place? What op-pression is felt? What tyranny has cast its mildew on our happiness? None; none of these things have come upon happiness? None; none of these things have come upon us. Within and without prosperity is scattering around her gifts. Peace is yours. Plenty has spread her ample board, and woes contentment to her side. At a time like this are you prepared to exchange the blessings you enjoy for a banquet of blood? Are you so in love with murder that you are ready to raise your hands against a brother's life? Are wasted fields and smoking ruins so pleasant to your sight that wasted fields and smoking ruins so pleasant to your sight that you are willing to expose your own dwellings to destruction rather than not burn your neighbors? Is there music to your ears in the shrieks of women or the despairing cries of helpless orphans? If you cannot give an affirmative answer to these questions, then stand by the Union; cling to the work of Washington and Madison; do not exchange it for a rickety concern built up by new and untried artisans; trust rather to

Washington and Madison; do not exchange it for a trease, washington and Madison; do not exchange it for a trease, concern built up by new and untried artisans; trust rather to the sages of the past, and guard with a miser's care the rich inheritance they have transmitted to you and to your children.

I have now something to say to the old supporters of Andrew Jackson whom I see around me. You have passed through such a crisis once before; but the strong arm of the patriot here then guided the helm, and the storm was weathered in safety. Not satisfied with having saved you then, he along to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against a similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair sought to guard you against similar dangers through all fair the enjoyment of health.

They were sitting in the stern of the boat and near the railing; the younger children playing with their parent, frolic stone as into to require any minute explanation.

The route to be opened by the people of New Orleans will reduce, in a remarkable degree, the time now occupied in made one's very heart glad and grateful to see a group so joy for the day.

The route to be opened by the people of the day.

The route to be opened by the people of the day.

The route to be opened by the people of the day.

The route of the day. from us to a home among the stars; and I adjure you, by all the love you bore him, by all the gratitude which is his due, by all the confidence you cannot help feeling in his wisdom and patriotism, to heed his warning:

What have you to gain by division and dissension? Delude not yourselves with the belief that a breach once made may afterwards be repaired. If the Union is once severed, the line of separation will grow wider and wider, and the controversies which are now debated and settled in the halls of legislation will be tried in fields of battle, and be determined by the sword. Neither should you design account in the second of by the sword. Neither should you deceive yourselves with the hope that the first line of separation will be the permanent one, and that nothing but harmony and concord would be found in the new associations formed upon the dissolution of the Union. Sectional interests would still be found there, and unchastened ambition. And if the recollection of common dangers, in which the people of these United States stood side by side against the sommon foe; the memory of the vision whether one in ten of them has ever taken the trouble to examine what is the exact question in dispute. It is so much reasolutions of censures than to study and comprehend a complicated subject, that I apprehend many of them have contented themselves with the performance of the lighter take. At all events, I have not been able to see or hear any attempt to define what is the exact amount of our losses. We are the first of the exact amount of our losses. We take the first of the exact amount of our losses. We take the first of the exact amount of our losses. We take the first of the f

excite it in you. On the contrary, I commend to you the advice of Mr. Jefferson:

"If there be any among us who would wish to dis this Union, or to change its republican character, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated when reason is left free

## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

BOSTON, NOVEMBER 18, 1850.

"Political contests are the safety-valves of republics." Robespierre used to assert, "agitate the caldron, and the foul air will escape." But in this old Commonwealth elections are but safety-valves to disappointed demagogues—to bitter sectional feeling—to disorganizers and to discordant spirits; their combined exhalations producing the most baneful consequences on the health of the body politic. The great questions upon which depend the honor of our country abroad and her prosperity at home are set aside to make room for a few cant phrases set in frames of popular prejudice, and calculated to excite the passions. "Consistency" is set at defiance, and we have just seen free-trade Democrats high-tariff Free-Soilers, and anti-law Abolitionists unite heart and hand to defeat the Whigs. They succeeded, and have set aside the principles which have done so much for the prosperity of the State to make room for the patchwork substitutes. This change may infuse new life and vigor into old Massachusetts, but such changes often act on the body politic like violent stimulants on the natural body, and bring on debiting, if not decay.

LIEUT. MAUNT.—DRAN STR: I have mentioned in one of my previous letters that I thought in Alumin, and state the caldron, and the following: is the general-voiline of the plane. The Frauenhoffer clock as a merit as possible at the required rate, but at the same time to be perceptibly.

LIEUT. MAUNT.—DRAN STR: I have mentioned in one of my previous letters that I though it had my intended to plane. The Frauenhoffer clock at the same time to be perceptibly.

LIEUT. MAUNT.—DRAN STR: I have mentioned in one of my previous letters that I though the have of an entity made to he preventible at the required rate, but at the same time to be preventible, shower. An adjuvant wheel is then attunite to every second of time in its revolution, and the minimal power" spring and to keep the winding of a clock. A resiprocating magnetic engine, maintaining-power" spring and to keep the

bility, if not decay.

The "Union Whigs," however, do not despair for there are bends which unite the friends of the Constitution throughout the Union which will survive this defeat, even though there are deserters at this trying moment. A silent political revolution is now going on throughout the State, and ere many days (when words have been spoken which will appeal to every conservative heart) you will find a party formed here upon true constitutiona grounds. The refusal of the people to let George Thompson speak in Fancuil Hall proves that they think the agita tors have gone far enough, and if the United States marshal ready to establish the rights of persons and property.

The Industrial Exhibition at London has at last attracted public attention here, and our large manufacturing establishments are preparing specimens of their productions. The mechanics are also intending to send samples of their handi-

The arts are not in a flourishing condition here just not

we have six Theatres, most of them disguised as lyceums, museums, or athenœums. Shakspeare rarely obtains a hear The "lectures" have commenced, and our popular orators

go forth every afternoon to discourse before some village ly-ceum, and resurn early the next morning. They receive from en to fifty dollars, and as the same lecture is repeated through the season, is is profitable work. Mr. James, the novelist, has delivered a course on civilization and history here and hereabouts, but is not popular. In social life he is very attractive, and has received much attention.

In the Literary world there is no news of interest. Mr.

Longfellow will not publish any thing this winter; Dr. Holmes is busily engaged at the Modical College; and the rest of authordom has been indulging in political vagaries to such an extent as to stop all attempts at composition. One or two new weekly newspapers are talked of, and one or two of those already established are on the verge of bankruptcy.

The "citizen soldiery" are rejoicing at the prospect of percussion lock muskets, the Adjutant General having made arrangements to supply them during the winter. Each man now receives a yearly bounty of \$6.50, and as this lightens the expenses of "mustering," the companies are in fine condition, and will sustain the laws if so ordered.

Mr. Wenster left to-day for the District. Sir Henry was accompanies and not in very good health. But I f those already established are on the verge of bankruptcy.

BULWER is here again, and not in very good health. But will not attempt to send "news" by mail which will be flashed over the wires to New Orleans ere a letter can reach New York.

L'ECRIVAILLIEUR.

## THE DROWNING CHILD.

and patriotism, to heed his warning:

"These cheering and grateful prospects and these multiplied favors we owe, under Providence, to the adoption of the Federal Constitution. It is no longer a question whether this great country can remain happily united and flourishing under our present form of government. Experience—the unering test of all human undertakings—has shown the wisdom and foresight of those who framed it, and has proved that in the Union of these States there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard and by every sacrifice this Union must be preserved.

In an instant was overboard! Many were looking on, but it was so sudden and unexpected that no one could arrest it. A shout was raised for the boat to be stopped, but before that could be done the father leaped ever into the deep and struck off manfully in search of his drowning child. The mother husband was also overboard her anguish was terrible to brightest hopes of freedom and for the happiness of the people. At every hazard and by every sacrifice this Union must be preserved.

So sudden and unexpected that no one could arrest it. A shout was raised for the boat to be stopped, but before that could be done the father leaped ever into the deep and struck off manfully in search of his drowning child. The mother husband was also overboard her anguish was terrible to be brightest hopes of freedom and for the happiness of the people. At least there is a sure foundation for the brightest hopes of freedom and for the happiness of the people of the boat to be stopped, but hefore that could be done the father leaped ever into the deep and struck off manfully in search of his drowning child. The mother had shrieked with agony as her child had gone, and now that her husband was also overboard her anguish was terrible to be brightest hopes of freedom and for the happiness of the people had shrieked with agony as her child had gone, and how that her husband was also overboard her anguish was

Some minutes he beat about to no purpose.

Small boats put out from the shore, and one of them picked him up when he was nearly exhausted, and he was brought to the steamer and lifted on beard. Here was a fresh scene to the steamer and lifted on board. Here was a fresh scene of distress, when the father and mother met again. He had returned from a watery grave himself, but their child, their pet lamb, was lost. As he was raised on deck, the mother cried, "The child, the child, where is it." He looked at her, and with a thoughtfulness and beauty not to be expected in such a moment, answered gently, "Mary, God has it!"

The boat still lingered, and the passengers were straining their eyes into the distance, hoping that one of the boats might yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the water. Presently a shout went up, and the word was passed

## COMMUNICATIONS.

ASTRONOMICAL MACHINERY.

An Improvement in Frauenhoffer's Centrifugal Clock for cammunicating uniform continuous motion, either to the Equatorial Telescope or to the Electro Chronograph Register. II. Astronomical Clock.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCES. I. To obtain a clock motion at once equably uniform and t the same time as well regulated as the common escape cleck, which goes by starts every second or half second, has or some time been a desideratum with astronomers; and my are printed electro-telegraphically on a recipient moved as uniformly as possible, has made it still more desirable to obtain this well-regulated motion. Many ingenious men have ndoubtedly been studying the same problem, and may have

Last spring Lieut. Mayn's requested that I would turn a thoughts upon that subject. I did so, and have devised the followingsplan, which I have communicated to him in the letter which is quoted below :

II. In making the first astronomical clock for the Observe tory, a "mechanical suspension" of the pendulum see to be the most convenient, and I adopted a new one, viz : A roller turning on plain jewelled surfaces. This operated exceedingly well while it could be kept in place. But, from erfections of workmanship, probably unavoidable, it is liable to a slight motion on those planes, and on that account the clock is subject to a change of rate. It seems, then, that this, as well as all other "mechanical suspensions," such as the "knife edge, friction rollers," &c., which have been at various times tried, must give place to the suspension by springs. In this particular, as well as in others, I saw a chance for an improvement in the model of the clock, and I leature time in making out a plan (part of which is described in my report to Congress) and in ordering a new clock made accordingly. That new clock is now done. The makers, Messrs. How-ARD & DAYIS, of Boston, were so well pleased with the design that they requested permission to make a duplicate clock for their own use. This duplicate instrument was exhibited by them at the late fair in Boston, and received a premium for the workmanship, which is certainly very perfect and

Mesers. Howard & Davis have also introduced my model of the gravity escapement into a steeple clock at Haverhill, Massachusetts. Its performance is reported to be quite satisfactory. This kind of escapement has the advantage in steeple clocks that the pendulum is so detached from the train that it is scarcely affected by the action of the wind upon the hands. The first clock will probably be removed a short time from the Observatory for the purpose of altering the suspension of the pendulum to correspond with that of the new model.

I have also procured a centrifugal clock on Frauenheffer's plan, made by Messrs. Howard & Davis, which is to be furnished with the magnetical regulator above described, is to be attached to a cylindrical register, and placed in the National Observatory as soon as that regulater is completed. Meannati for the purposes of trial and adjustment.

JOHN LOCKE. Very respectfully,

## TEHUANTEPEC.

Messrs. Entrons: Your paper has from time to time contained articles in relation to the various routes by which a connexion with the Pacific is proposed to be accomplished.

As this is a subject which interests alike the Government and the people, it is well to keep all events connected with it be-fore the public.

The New Orleans papers show that the project of uniting the two oceans by the Isthmus of Tehuantepec has been undertaken by the people of that city in a manner which augurs well for its early completion. There is no doubt that the projected work is one calculated to promote, in the highest degree, the commercial prosperity of New Orleans. It is not to be supposed, however, that the advantages of this route will enure exclusively to the benefit of that city; on the con-

will enure exclusively to the benefit of that city; on the contrary, there is no citizen within reach of a travelling route or a post-office who will not in some way or other reap advantages from it. To the Government it will afford facilities for communication with and furnishing supplies to our naval forces in the Pacific, and to that portion of our army in California, of the highest advantage in a pecuniary point of view.

The great object of desire now is to obtain a communication which which will require the least possible time to connect us with California, either for the purpose of travel, freight, or the mails. The great feature of the age is the improvements made in the rapidity of movement, by which distant points are connected, and hence the saving of time is of all others the most important element of a route, when we take into con-ideration the character of our people, and that time

ful in each other, and evidently as blest among themselves as if they had been born to wealth.

It was a very pleasant day, and a pleasant hour of the day. A few minutes more would bring them home, and the children, tired with the day's play, would be asleep. Suddenly the youngest, frolicking on the floor, rolled under the railing, and in an instant was overboard! Many were looking on, but it was so sudden and unexpected that no one could arrest it. A shout was raised for the boat to be stopped, but before that could be done the father leaped over into the deep and struck off manfully in search of his drowning child. The mother had shricked with agony as her child had gone, and now that her husband was also overboard her anguish was terrible to behold. A lady strove to console her, and bade her trust in God and hope for the best. The father proved to be an excellent swimmer, but the water was so agitated by the motion of the boat that he could see nothing of his child, and for some minutes he beat about to no purpose. the shortest possible time.

There is no doubt that the harbor at the Pacific terminus of

this railroad will be the concentrating point whence intelli-gence can be communicated to the United States, when it is known that information can be conveyed by this route to the seat of government in the incredibly short space of five days. At first first sight it would appear impossible that Washington city could be put in connexion with the Pacific in five days, but the certainty that it can be is easily established.

When the railroad across the isthmus is completed, under no circumstances will more than a day be required to reach

such a moment, answered gently, "Mary, God has it!"

The boat still lingered, and the passengers were straining their eyes into the distance, hoping that one of the boats might yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the yet rescue the child. It had now been half an hour in the yet rescue the child. It was picked up by ene of the many in search, and a solitary oarsmen rowed on with his precious charge. As he came alongside, the hardy old tar, with a tenderness of feeling that did him honor, covered the face of the child. He could not bear to shock the parents with the sudden sight of their dead child? Yes, it was dead? It was taken on board, and the gentle lady who had sought to comfort the mother in her anguish took the little one and opened its dress, and laid her hand on its heart, but it was still. All the means that could be applied were of no avail to restore the spirit that had fied.

What a change was here! The boat had reached its wharf, and the family, a mourning, wretched family, went off with their dead child to their dreary home. The papers next morning mentioned, under the head of accidents, that a child was drowned from one of the ferry boats yesterday; but how much sorrow there is in this world that we know nothing of!